

‘Rage Against the Machist’

A look into the music of the contemporary protest scene in Chile

The case of the song “Un violador en tu camino”



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Abstract

A look at the new agenda of protest music in Chile. Music as a vehicle to denounce the political and social situation in which people live, is a very significant matter in the present international protest panorama. As social discomfort remains high, political friction has increased and there is strong outrage that reigns on social networks. Appears like a song with a social message, seems propitious for many artists and musicians nowadays. At present, protest music is a key element in developing, that can provide feelings of collective identity, create bonds between people and encourage social political involvement towards a common cause.

In this research, a qualitative study was carried out, with the purpose of examine to which extent the use of protest music generated social cohesion in the particular case of the phenomenon of the song "A rapist in your path", written by the Chilean feminist collective Las Tesis. To collect information, a research design was applied in which interviews were conducted with Chilean women of different ages, who had participated in feminist manifestations and performed the song of "A rapist in your path". In this way, the present thesis reflects on how the expressive resources in music, such as social media, collective identity, emotional relieve, lyrics, dance and clothing. Are used by the protesters to express contained feelings, narrate shared sufferings, question adversaries and democratize the field of visibility.

KEYWORDS: Protest music; collective identity; social movements; social media; feminism.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In October 2019, a wave of strong protests arose in Latin America. These events respond to many different reasons, but principally answer to economic and social crises that were generated by an intensification of government measures, that had a negative effect in the economy of the citizens and an increase of corruption scandals in the traditional political elites. One of the countries that was the most affected in the South American region during this wave of mass protests was Chile. In this country, particularly, the main cause of these events was the rise in the rate of the public transportation system in the city of Santiago. Right after this government decree, university students organized each other through social media to deliberately avoid the subway payment, and to call all the citizens to go out to the streets and march against this particular economic measure and the social inequality of the country. These protests that originally had a peaceful start were soothed by Chile's militarized police, leading to the first clashes between the police and the protesters. In consequence of this, the protests spread right away throughout the city of Santiago and quickly to the rest of the regions of Chile. Causing vandalism effects such as looting of food stores, destruction of public and private assets and even the destruction of several metro stations in the city of Santiago ('figure 1: image of destroyed metro station').

The government response was to enact a curfew in the capital city and decree the national state of emergency in the entire country, what generated a series of difficulties. Principally, numerous violations of human rights as a result of the excessive action by the security forces and the repression of the militarized police, that left many deaths, a lot of persons wounded, and thousand people arrested. Outside of the official figures, the complaints and videos that show abuses and unjustified shootings by the police and the military widely circulated on Twitter and Facebook, stating the situation of the country. The violation of human rights in Chile is a tricky and very painful issue. It is rooted in the memory of the darkest days in the country's history (Nicholls, 2019). That is why the presence of the military in the streets and the curfew generated rejection among the Chilean society

Chile's history is marked by social inequality, differences based on class and ethnicity have sparked continued protests for over a century. Beginning in the 1950's, when workers' unions and left-wing movements spread their influence throughout Chile (Nicholls, 2019). This matter as during the 60's and early 70's, and with a great influence of the Cuban revolution

and the Vietnam war, a very significant musical movement called “the new Chilean song” was forged in Chile (Taffet, 1997), with musicians such as Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara and the recognized group Quilapayún, original creators of the famous song “The People United Will Never Be Defeated”, a well-known protest song around the world that calls for social cohesion and that have been translated into many languages in different countries. This movement has been one of the most important in the Chilean musical history and was created with the beginning of the migration of people from the countryside to the city. Since the peasants who lived in the city began to change the roots of their folklore, they started creating a genre of folk music where they could sing the principal problems of the people who were going from the countryside to live in the cities (Taffet, 1997). New stories that began to be told in a folklore way, more political and deeper songs that were very influential in many young people of the time. These songs were precisely about singing and describing the social context in which the country found itself at that moment. This artistic movement of the new Chilean song was highly politically organized since it actively participated in Salvador Allende's entire political campaign in the 1970 (Taffet, 1997). It was made up of artists who were characterized by participating in social movements along with the people, in the reconstruction of places and harvest in the countryside (Taffet, 1997). In 1970 Salvador Allende assumed the presidency, which won the elections with a coalition of left-wing parties that sought to promote socialist policies. However, his government lasted only three years. On September 11, 1973, Augusto Pinochet, commander of the Armed Forces, took power in a coup. Thousands of people suffered the repression of the dictatorship that last from 1973 until 1990 (Nicholls, 2019). Political opponents were locked up in detention centers and torture camps. Despite international pressure, human rights violations continued until the end of the dictatorship (Nicholls, 2019).

In resistance to the Pinochet government and the censorship to the arts and culture in Chile, another musical movement of songwriters was created, this one involving a lot more of poetry, and also operating in a hidden way because many songs were censored at that time, this new type of social song was called “the new chant” based on singer-songwriters (Taffet, 1997). This movement helped people to hold together the injustices of that period and also inspired them to pursuit a political process against the government of Pinochet. In October 5, 1988, a plebiscite was held and won the "NO" to the continuity to the dictatorship of Pinochet. The following year elections were called, and the era of democratic transition began.

These musical movements have always generated a great influence on the artists of this country and on the generations of the following years, since historically music has been a

tool that has worked in a positive way for social movements in Chile. The history of a type of music that is much more committed to society and that encourages social transformation was so significant in influencing Chilean artist, to the point that determined all future productions and the position of the musicians in the country.

Through the future years after the Pinochet era, successive governments tried to correct inequalities, but the gap between social classes was still too big. In May 2006, under the chairmanship of Michelle Bachelet, there was another strong movement of protests: during the so-called "Penguin Revolution", high school students marched to demand improvements in the quality of education (Reyes, 2019). In the past decade, protests have been recurring across the country. In 2011, it was the turn of the territorial citizen assemblies, a social movement that called for reforms to reduce economic inequality. In 2018, a feminist wave paralyzed the entire country ('figure 2: screenshot of feminist protests in Chile'). This was the outbreak of a movement that has spent years working to achieve gender equality in Chile. Composed primarily of students, that claimed for a structural change in the principal institutions of the country, that continued operating in the same way since the times of the dictatorship (Reyes, 2019). Issues such as the prohibition of abortion, gender violence and the sexist education of the country were the main topics on the agenda of this movement. Nowadays, these feminist issues joined the social demands that all Chilean citizens have raised during the social outbreak on October 2019, and in which women have had a leading role continuing to take the streets to request a fairer system that ends historical inequalities.

These latest protests led to the birth of different cultural and artistic expressions by citizens and various social collectives, especially gaining a lot of strength and influence in the feminist movement in Chile. In this context of political and social manifestations, on November 18, the performance of the protest song "Un violador en tu camino" ("A rapist in your path") was born. This is a song created by the Chilean feminist collective Las Tesis founded by four women from the city of Valparaíso, Chile. Paula Cometa, Lea Cáceres, Dafne Valdés and Sibila Sotomayor (figure 3: screenshot of Las Tesis). Las Tesis uses music performances as a pedagogical tool in order to communicate feminist notions and make it more accessible to the public. The song "A rapist in your path" consists of an urban performance interpreted by a group of different types of women, that are blindfolded with a piece of black fabric and wearing a green or a purple kerchief in the neck or in the wrist, that is generally related with the feminist movement in this continent. The performers settle in lines and execute a choreography singing a song that is critical of society, the main forms of violence against women and the lack of justice by the police and the government ('figure 4: screenshot of the

performance ’). On an international level, the video of the performance of the song got million views on YouTube and was a trend hashtag on Instagram and Twitter. On these social media platforms, women divide the lyrics of the song into pieces in order to make visible their experiences of gender violence, to confront the idea that the victims of abuse have some kind of blame, creating a dynamic very similar of the famous “me too” movement. (‘figure 5: screenshot of twitter’). At the same time, the virality of the song is accompanied by a massive diffusion of videos and memes related to “A rapist in your path” (‘figure 6: screenshot of meme’). Additionally, a reggaeton remix of the song that highlight the catchiness of the rhythm spreads into pubs and bars in the south American region, turning it into a popular culture piece. (‘figure 7: screenshot of the Spotify song)

Although “A rapist in your path” addresses specific particularities of the feminist Chilean context, thanks to the popularity that the song reached on social media, a series of adaptations of the song were triggered around the world. Until now, the song has been translated from Spanish to more than fourteen languages including English, French, Catalan, indigenous dialect and sign language. Furthermore, the replicate of the performance has been done in several countries such as France, Colombia, India, Germany, Kenia, Israel, etc. (‘figure 8: screenshot of international performance’). In the particular case of Chile, the song gained so much attention from the government and feminists collectives, that massive meetings were held all around Chile, gathering together thousands of women of all ages and ethno-racial backgrounds to perform this song. From these events we can observe that music seems to play an essential role in the massive spread of these protests and its causes, and it’s important to research how this works, particularly in a time where mediatization is such a relevant matter. The significance of studying this phenomenon and to investigate if music can be a vector of social cohesion and unite people, inspired my research question: ***How does music mobilize people into the contemporary protest in Chile?***

The aim of the research is to find out to what extent does music aids for social cohesion, how a song is available to replicate and adopt the message of a collective and reach more people that support it. Which are the principal factors of music to engage people in the social mobilization in Chile. Moreover, it is of great interest to explore how the movements of women like those who created the song changed their way of operating since the outbreak of this particular music theme, in terms of protests, numbers of members and supporters. To carry out this research, a qualitative method would be appropriate to obtain accurate outcomes than a quantitative method. To response the proposed research question in the most precise way, the gathering of information will be collected by conducting 16 individual interviews with women

who did the music performance “A rapist in your path” in Chile, and one more particular interview with the collective creator of this tune. As this can offer the chance to deeply explore what drives the respondents to gather together around this specific song. A detailed explanation of the methods of this thesis investigation can be found in the Methodology section.

“The origins of music, as a human activity, might be found in the need to communicate to others” (Pino-Robles, 2001. p145). Music can be considered as a social exercise or a human need to express oneself through sounds, and that offers opportunities for communication and expression of diverse types of art. The protest song can be considered a sociological manifestation that responds to changing needs and social criticism. The scientific relevance of this academic research is to try to understand the phenomenon of social cohesion through music in Chile and the social implications that it has. People have been gathering around music for leisure or tradition forever, and protest music introduced a new way and reason to gather. Try to comprehend how this type of music bring people together towards an identical goal, if the message is created by the music or by the people or the movement that integrate this art form, or if it comes from a combination of the movement and the artist. Moreover, is the great significance to understand if the values conveyed come from the music itself or if it’s due to its increasing local or global usage within the protest group, other art form such as dancing, its adaptation on social media or others.

Additionally, it is a relevant research subject because music and social mobilization are gaining more attention and appreciation through time due to the recent protest panorama all around the world. Specifically, the case of Chile that has been getting such a considerable media and international awareness worldwide. Furthermore, music has always played a fundamental role in supporting and encouraging people to stick together during times of crisis. Since the time of the black death, different music expressions constitute diverse ways of unity and consolation in the face of fear and uncertainty, such as the poems sung by Decameron in Boccaccio’s book, that communicate the social mood of the black dead in Florence in the 14th century. 800 years later in this new corona virus pandemic, diverse music expressions like online music festivals, virtual shows, the applauses for the health workers or improvised concerts on balconies and rooftops in countries like Spain, Italy or the United States. These events not only shape new ways of experience music, but also have become are unifying symbol during the times of covid-19.

In addition, the advance of new communication tools and new technologies the past years, provides a tool in interaction with music as help influence how a specific song can become an “earworm” in people minds (Prior, 2018). As well to generate an impact in the way

individuals connect with the social and political agenda. According to Steve Jones, the extensiveness of the cyberspace circulation has an essential role in music (Jones, 2002). Nowadays the social media platforms are a vital tool for protesters and organizers, as bring a new smart way to engage in the social movement panorama (Prior, 2018). Especially, in these times where mediatization is so important for the virality of social causes and manifestations around the world. For example, the current worldwide movement of black lives matter, as the role of these media platforms is not only providing information and visibility about the problem but aid to build a community of support and empowerment that encourage social activism and political engagement to the cause. In order to answer my proposed research questions, topics such as protest music and social mobilization will be elaborated in the next chapter.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In this section, I will describe some fundamental and basic notions about music and its historical function within society. Furthermore, in order to discuss necessary theories and ideas for understanding the development of this investigation, I will make a detailed review on the existing literature of the relationship between music and protest and how this can work as a vector of social cohesion, focusing on the topic of this study.

This chapter is divided into three subchapters. The first section is called '*Singing Identity*' (2.1), I will describe the concepts of protest song and music identity, illustrating its components and influence on social mobilizations, in order to deepen this research. On the second section '*Support Your Local Girl Gang*' (2.2) I will elaborate on the previous research on the literature of social movements in Chile and the definition of social mobilization, to understand the importance of the participation and of the dynamics of social movements and collective identity in the feminist protest panorama. Finally, the third section '*Tweeting a Protest*' (2.3) will deal with the impact of social media and mediatization in this type of music in the present protest scene. These essential notions will be discussed in order to understand the way in which this academic research will be carried out.

2.2 'Singing Identity'

Making a brief historical account, throughout the time, the notion of music has enjoyed an infinity of meanings and considerations. It has been appreciated as a manifestation of affection to divinity, as an essential element in the manifestations of everyday life, such as valued sample of a higher cultural level, and even as a way of entertainment (Witkin, 2003). Music has been present in all the vital moments of individuals and in different cultural forms, from a lullaby to funeral events. That is why music is a historical product of social interaction and allows communication by giving meaning to our daily relationships (Carballo, 2006). This is of great matter as music has always had a function within social groups, that have continuously used music for religious, social, and political intentions. However, in recent years, it has become increasingly important for authors like Bennett (2008), the discussion that music actively contributes to the creation of the reality of social groups to which we belong, and the identities that people can undertake. This idea is socially relevant because music allows people to do things not only with entertainment effects like to dance or have fun but also with informative determinations to transmit and communicate facts of interest, as well show demonstrations about the indivisible link between collective action and music.

“Music and social movements have been inseparable in the Latin American context” (Pino-Robles, 2001. p149). In the specific case of Chile, musicians and artist occupied an essential function since they played the part of narrating and reporting the daily life. The entire academic literature about protest music of this country is highly focused on the period of the dictatorship. Probably because that moment of musical history in Chile was of great national importance and generated a great influence on the international panorama. In any case, past research shows that culture and music had an indispensable main role as an instrument of social transformation and as a facilitator, as music was able to connect with the people (Pino-Robles, 2001). In order to comprehend why music was a symbol of protest for the Chilean society Taffet, (1997), hence in the folk music as a key element to understand the development of subaltern groups in the historical context of the military dictatorship in Chile (1973 to 1990). This country, saw and suffered human rights violations and limitations on their political and social freedoms, having to look for or create other spaces where to expose their feelings, ideas and concerns; but also, the criticism of the new society in which they were immersed. It is necessary to mention that the music meaning in this context lies in the power of music of

carrying a message to a large number of people, and above all, helps to create a collective sense of identity with what is heard and sung (Pino-Robles, 2001). This is significant as aid to understand why music as a social construction in Chile reflects and articulates social identities.

Protest song

One very important idea on the discussion of the academic literature about music, focus on the notion of protests song. Lynskey defines the protest song as one that deals with political issues to support victims (Lynskey, 2010). As well this term can be considered as a sociological manifestation that responds to changing needs and social criticism. On the contrary, Denisoff elaborates on a definition of the term protest song and makes a classification of two types. Those ones that are magnetic because they are not associated with social movements and that actively seek to develop the notion of belonging to the group. And those that are rhetorical that are not linked to any particular social protest movement and try to express indignation of individuals trying to promote criticism and political change (Denisoff, 1966).

From another point of view, Martinelli make a contribution to the literature of social protest songs, as he state that “might be performed by people without professional familiarity with music; and should be easy to memorize, with a clear and reproducible message, and with the capacity to create or enhance group feeling” (Martinelli, 2017, p64). A very important element that protest music or protest song has is that personified traditions, throughout performance, facilitating to organize mobilizations and create collective identity (Frith, 1999). Another significant characteristic is that “music and song can maintain a movement even when it no longer has a visible presence in the form of organizations, leaders, and demonstrations” (Eyerman & Jaminson, 1998. p43). These definitions attempt to display existing elements in music that help people to engage concerning common ideas or common activities.

Contrary to Denisoff perspective, Martinelli suggests that the term of protest song is not satisfying enough and should be expanded to “song of social protest” or “SSP” (Martinelli, 2017). The identity of protest music can be defined as “functional music” and it is constituted by the triptych Context (its relationship and time distance with it) - Lyrics (content and rhetoric) - Music (genre, tone) (Martinelli, 2017). It is important to note that composing a song of social protest requires to take into consideration multiple factors such as their accessibility to be performed (easy to carry instruments, basic rhythmic) and to be memorized (catchy hooks and great emphasis on refrains) and should include culturally recognizable sound (Martinelli, 2017). The author uses several stages to classify songs of social protest, breaking it into its relationship and closeness to the context within which it is created and performed. It is then

broken into the Time-Space Umwelt, the song can be created before, during or after the protest while being exposed, neutral or hidden during this context. Moreover, the author looks at the lyrics. They can have an “Analytical” type when they are descriptive, highly focused and detailed on the events. They are considered as “Spiritual” when they mostly consist of praying and hoping, taking inspiration in the sacred with a passive approach. They are “Universal” when it is the listener that needs to contextualize the song and can be transposed into a broad scope of events. Finally, as the last type of lyrics the author identifies the “Satirical” employing sarcasm, parody or irony to convey the message.

Lastly, Martinelli classifies the music within five more types. The first one defined as “Simple” mostly contains straightforward instrumentations and catchy melody, usually found in folk, country, blues, often associated to a cult environment in opposition with the commercial and mainstream type. “The more “complex” an SSP gets, the less credible it tends to appear” (Martinelli, 2017, p.56). Secondly the “Solemn” type is more mainstream with pop quality and bigger productions than the previous one. Often used as charity music, but not only, they appeal to a broader audience thanks to their “everybody-will-love-it” arrangement. Thirdly, coming from a more underground or alternative scene, considered as angry by the overall population and mostly found in punk, heavy metal, grunge genres is consequently defined as “Aggressive” type. Then, Martinelli defined the “Manneristic” type, less widespread it uses themes that reference other acts or periods of social protest. Last but not least, the “X” type is more of a black box regrouping all protest songs that cannot be classified among the previous type. The attempt of Martinelli to make a classification of SSP is provide significant insights to the understanding of this investigation.

Music identity

The academic debate of music identity is a discussion that has been neglected, for different reasons. This neglect could obey the fact, that it is a relatively recent phenomenon, perhaps, it begins shortly before the second half of the 20th century. Initially, the communities that have been formed around some musical genres have been viewed from perspectives that contain exaggerated biases and they easily label them as "Masses", especially the youth, who are manipulated by cultural industries which always tends to the artificial and which constantly generates a mass consumer market (Witkin, 2003). Nowadays, sociologist seems to pay particular attention on the different ways how music relates to collective identities. One is what makes it an accessory aspect of a collective identity. Music expresses a collective identity as part of the reflection of that identity in the artistic and cultural fields. From this perspective

music is an expression of an ethnic group, a social class, people, a nation, a culture, etc. (Witkin, 2003). On the other hand, refers to the derivation of a collective identity based on a musical preference. Music is not an accessory to a previous identity, but more conversely, music founds a collective identity that is reflected in an image, a consumption of time and money in listening of such music, an expression of its own (speech, dance), an attitude before things, a way of socializing, a definition of self, a permanent construction of socialization spaces, a group of related, certain common codes and a sense of belonging (Witkin, 2003). All of it is possible because music is a subjective experience that generates senses and, therefore, identities.

Roy and Dowd attempt to make an approach on the definition of this term, “how people use music to define who they are individually and collectively” (Roy & Dowd, 2010. p187) In the text *what is sociological about music* Roy describes the connection of music identity in people as “Individuals find meaning by linking text and context, using music to signify their evolving autobiographies”. (Roy, 2010. p189) Throughout history, music has always been an essential characteristic of identity within groups and communities. Also, can be considered as an agent of social change in the world, moreover, according to Leyshon music can work as a strong tool that largely influence the transformation of an identity, channeling deep emotions of the human being (Leyshon, 2004). The research done by Leyshon and Roy brings some key insights on the study of how music can work as a tool to configure identity in society.

De Nora make an enormous contribution in the studies of how understand music from different aspects. Moreover, De Nora (2000) provide specific features of music, rhythm and lyrics, and point out particular different patterns in which people can experiment feelings and give music an individual importance or sense. This is related to the fact, that it is well known that music has an impact on human emotions, so it is important to address the influence it exerts on the academic debate. The emotional experience of people through the music can be related also to the notion of sympathy presented by Adam Smith. According to Tajima (2007) “individual selfish actions are shaped into collective action” (p. 578). As people behaviors and feelings will influence in a powerful way other people actions and emotions. Which is relevant because attempt to understand individual or selfish conducts within the collective action.

From a different perspective and quoting De Nora (2000):

“A good deal of music’s powers come from in its co-presence with other things – people, events, scenes. In some cases, music’s semiotic power – here, its emblematic capacity – comes from its conditional presence; it was simply ‘there at the time’. In such cases, music’s meanings and its link

to circumstances simply emerge from its association with the context in which it is heard. In such cases, the link, or articulation, that is made – and which is so often biographically indelible – is initially arbitrary but is rendered symbolic (and hence evocatory) from its relation to the wider retinue of the experience, to the moment in question”. (p.66)

This is extremely important as De Nora contribution is mostly focused in determining where does the capacity of music comes from. As she states that is not only in the music itself but in the coexistences with other things such as dance and in the meaning these things have on individuals. As well, is related to the link with the experiences and the circumstances or how she will call it a ‘aide-mémoire’. In addition, the author makes a contribution in the role of music with the physical movement of the individuals such as choreography or aerobics and point out the connection with this, music and emotions. As she said De Nora (2000) “Aerobics is by no means the only social province where actors engage in constant gear changes of emotional and embodied agency” (p.106). This contribution is quite significance as can help understand the particularities of the Chilean case.

2.3 ‘Support Your Local Girl Gang’

In the last decade Chile has witnessed a strong revival of the mobilization of the society and the social movements of the national protest scene. In first place, due to a growing social discomfort derived from the disgust of the impacts of the opening-up and neo liberal economic model, within a broader agenda of historical demands - provision of domiciliary public services, infrastructure, health and education (Nicholls, 2019). Second, it has seen diverse and heterogeneous actors burst into the public scene (Reyes, 2019), principally female students claiming for gender equality, articulated to actions promoted by citizens affected in a differential way due to the impact of the economic model. Third, despite the institutional rhetoric on the right to protest, the government management of difficulties continues to show a recurring use of repression, stigmatization and late negotiation, to which have been added initiatives of regulations to limit this right. Fourth, this new wave of protests incorporates political and cultural dimensions into the protest agenda, referring to equality and visibility, indicating an important qualitative turn as soon as it becomes evident a trend of mobilizations

for the right to have rights, beyond the classic socioeconomic demands or a return of the typical class interest dispute.

A very significant approach for this research is also take in consideration the role of women in social movements in Chile. The literature on the feminist movements in Chile is very insufficient, in part because of the absence of a consistent effort during the past years. Prior investigations on the Chilean feminist scene emphasis generally on the period of the dictatorship or the transition to democracy. However, there are prior studies that pay attention on how the feminist movement in Chile installed demands in the public debate through an ascending process of accumulation of forces, largely nourished by the marches of the past years (2018 - 2019) in favor of the decriminalization of abortion, the acts of protest against machismo (with which the judges and The media deal with femicide cases), the occupations of educational establishments to denounce the harassment and abuse suffered by students, and the numerous days of political training promoted by different feminist groups (Martinez, 2019).

In this general context, we can underline the importance of the mobilization and protest around the issue of this research. Today the notion of social mobilization can be described as a practice that “involves prompting people to perform behaviors that primarily benefit a group of other people” (Rogers, 2017. p358). Moreover, according to Rodgers (2017) the primary characteristic of a social mobilization it’s based on the fact of guarantee a great influence in people actions and behaviors as long as the interaction of the participants is more intimate and personal. This idea is very relevant to approach the object of study, as with this statement the author suggests that collective actions can be more efficient at the time to bring people to perform any type of activities. On a different point of view, hence in the context of social movements, and according to Eyerman the expression of "social movements" is a direct heir to the concept "labor movement", and from the theoretical point of view it was to preserve the dominant interpretation of society and of the phenomena of social change (Eyerman,1989). Meanwhile Eyerman has a conception of social movement more linked to social transformation as a process to achieve "progress", which mean more related to the outcomes of the mobilizations; Rogers view is way more connected to influence people actions and the process of that. In the case of Eyerman, is it very important to focus on the results of the mobilizations and the social changes as this aid to examine to which extent the outcomes of a determined social movement contributed with new perspectives in the society.

On this academic field, Skocpol makes a great contribution to contemporary social theory to understand social movements and revolutions, the definitions of social and state revolution, allow us to read the relationship between society and politics. The author constructs

a typology in which it clearly differentiates rebellions, political revolutions, industrial revolutions and social revolutions (Skocpol, 1979); focuses on the latter and defines them as rapid and basic transformations of a State and the class structure of a society, accompanied and partly carried out by revolts class (Skocpol, 1979). This distinction is crucial, since it allows to specify the nature of revolutions and movements and apply one or another concept depending on their consequences for the political or social sphere. Furthermore, this duality of concepts allows us to differentiate, on one hand, the sudden and effective seizure of power (political revolution), and on the other, the true lasting transformation and substantial of the structures of social classes and the State (revolution Social) (Skocpol, 1979).

Instead Benford and Snow examine the analytical utility of the framing processes approach or frameworks of collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000). The analysis of the literature revolves around four principal themes, first the conceptualization and features of the frameworks for collective action; Second the elaboration and development of frameworks (or more simply, framing processes and dynamics); Third contextual factors, such as the structure of political opportunities and cultural opportunities for social movements, that facilitate or hinder framing processes; And fourth the consequences of frames of reference (Benford & Snow, 2000). Of the four themes, Benford and Snow pay special attention to the conceptualization and characteristics of collective action frameworks.

On the contrary, other authors allude that when talking about the structure of political opportunities, refers to the scopes of the political milieu that offer rewards for participation in group actions by shaping the feelings of victory or lost (Tarrow, 2000). As can be seen, social movements are organized thanks to constructed and shared symbols that give meaning to collective behavior (Tarrow, 2000). The forging of group identity is related to political opportunities and with the mobilization structure and predisposes to action. This concept of the structure of political opportunities is of great significance as it helps to understand why movements gain or lose pressure, as well as how mobilization is extended to people who live very different circumstances. In addition, social movements adopt one form or another, depending on the range of political opportunities.

In recent times, sociologists have paid particular notice to the function of social movements towards the understanding the feeling of collective identity within the groups. The study of social movements is complicated, since is a polysemic concept, that is used to designate collective phenomena of very diverse themes: social mobilizations of a certain duration, cultural orientations, political and union organizations (Kolers, 2016). According to Francesca Polletta and James Jasper, the notion of identity is a mode to clarify how interests

arose in a social collective instead of taking them for granted (Polletta and Jasper. 2001). In the light of the theories of Polletta and Jasper (2001), collective identity is defined as a person's reasoning, ethical, and emotive relationship alongside a wider group, cluster, tradition, or establishment (Polletta and Jasper 2001). Rather, Kolars (2016) goes on that:

“Social groups have shared interests and experiences not due to any inherent sameness but because of how social institutions construct groups. Members, who find themselves “thrown” into social identities, can recognize and challenge these institutions through political action”
These objectively shared experiences of group members give movements a reality to grab onto as they push a shared agenda “ (p.583).

The great importance of these ideas lies in the fact that aid to understand and identify the feelings of women that belongs to certain groups and perform collective actions. But furthermore, indicates that not necessarily all feminist movements arose a social collective identity naturally by shared experience or interests but instead is pushed by the social structures around. Which matter because then the interest of the members of a movement is encouraged through the group activity and is not entirely ‘authentic’. This present a challenge on specify where the underline values of movements that identify them self as feminist come from.

2.4 ‘Tweeting a Protest’

The online space has always been a place for sharing since its inception. Decades after, in an increasingly globalized and digitalized world the Internet allows users to access an increasing amount of content, regardless of its creation date or origin and also exposes them to content, or music, that they would have probably never seen, read or heard without (Prior, 2018). Regarding music, this digitalization allowed local music to spread outside of their limited borders without neglecting them (Leyshon, 2004). Moreover, one of the ways to grasp the role of the Internet in music consumption is also to observe the movement of people and goods not online but offline (Jones, 2002), meaning that the consumption or sharing of music on the Web have a direct effect offline. In a way, the act of sharing, online or offline, constitutes a well-established practice that brings and gathers people together. These ideas of bringing and holding people together through sharing is very relevant to this research as it helps understand

the impact of social media in creating and building a movement that takes on the street. The notion of sharing and reaching people can be put into parallel with the role of the “influencer” (Gladwell, 2000) that appeared with the Web 2.0. Gladwell stated that engaging the “influencer”, most of the time an outstanding member of a community, would allow the message to reach the target audience often faster than any traditional media and could even expand it. It will be interested to identify if within the context of social protest there are online figures of authority or influence or if the movement becomes leaderless (Castells, 2012)

Pickard (2011) suggested that “The World Wide Web is commonly seen as a platform that can harness the collective abilities of large numbers of people to accomplish tasks with unprecedented speed, accuracy, and scale” (p. 509). It appears that social and online media are playing an increasing part in social mobilization and their rapidity of organization and information spreading. Moreover, Street, Hague and Savigny (2008), raise the importance of political actions in the public sphere, has being is an equal combination of speech and physical expressions. One of the most obvious examples is the Arab Spring that occurred in the Arab world between 2010 and 2012. The massive social mobilization and its spread across the region was mostly due to the role of social networks such as Facebook or Twitter to such an extent that observers across the world did not hesitate to talk about Facebook or Twitter uprisings and even about Revolution 2.0, going to mention it being the first revolutionary wave emerged from social networks (Tudoroiu, 2014). There are still debate on the role and importance of social media over the timeline of these protests but there is no doubt that they were a massive tool to share ideas among thousands and millions of users and participants and to quickly coordinate movements while checking the potential of the mobilization. In this context Kidd and McIntosh (2016) identify several attitudes in regards of the role and importance of social media in social protest. They make a distinction between Techno-optimistic, pessimistic and uncertain towards its importance. While optimistic like Manuel Castells (2015) tend to give social media most of the benefit, other authors like Evgeny Morozov (2011) are more skeptical about it. In *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (2011) the author consider the role of social media or more generally the Web 2.0 to be overestimated during these events, mentioning that those tools are most of the time alienating population and mostly controlled by the hand of authoritarian regimes. Nevertheless, these two opposite views can be balanced with a more ambivalent opinion stating that while social media played an important role in the social mobilization, they are not its only driving force but are part of a combination of internal and external elements. In the case of the Arab Spring, despite the attempt of governments, such as in Egypt to ban any form of social networks and communication did not make the

movements weaker or event prevent the political changes. In the following parts of this study we will try to define what role-played social media in the diffusion of the message of Las Tesis within the context of the feminist protest.

One of the most obvious aspect of social media is their ability to bring on a global stage specific events, information, rumors or images of cute animals. This global visibility has been the result of what Thompson called the “mediated visibility” (Thompson, 1995), supported by the worldwide adoption of social media to share images and videos. People do not need to be present at the exact moment and place events happen, events are not set in time and space anymore and can either benefit form a global stage to be visible or to remain in the obscurity. Still according to Thompson (2005), social media increase the visibility of political, corporate and civil actors and can have the potential of disempowering and empowering. While this visibility can become uncontrollable, it could lead to the idea of surveillance and monitoring of social activities (Uldam, 2014). Thereby Uldam (2014) introduces the idea that third party, mostly companies, can switch this trend by monitoring the social media presence of activists. It happens that social mobilization or protest tend to condemn an established symbolic power. According to Hancock (2008) this power above a subordinate group comes from an underlying unequal system but this system happens to be legitimated by both parties despite its erratic distinctions then becoming a norm. The ones in a specific social condition happen to consent to domination structuring the way they act and will consequently reproduce this behavior. In a way this idea of surveillance can be extended to government, politics, social entity or even citizens that are criticized online.

Additionally, specific social network can have a tremendous impact on the spread compared to others. For example, it was demonstrated by Madnick et al. (2015) that Facebook was more effective at building a trustful and exclusive network than e-mail thus leading to a more agile communication and mobilize participants seven time faster than traditional Web 1.0 tools (Wang et al.,2015). Recent study focused on the use of Facebook among 18-29 years old Chilean showed that the frequent use of Facebook, while not being the only factor, was significantly positively correlated to participation in protests (Valenzuela, 2012). Although the use of social media did not seem to create new online forms of protests, but the online interaction among members appeared to strengthen offline forms of social mobilization (Valenzuela, 2012). While it appears that Facebook tended to be at the center of the social media strategy for social mobilization, we will see if this data was still relevant within the context of the feminist protests in Chile in 2019-2020.

How can this be connected and what does this connection implies. The conclusion is that ideas about protest music or protest song, music identity and collective action presented in this theoretical framework are reproduced on social media from social activist people or protesters who have sort kind of interest in creating this kind of discourse. Consequently, the articles point to the power of music identity as a categorizing tool within society and the influence of social media platforms have to make people focus on certain ideas and narratives, for instance the narrative of producing collective actions and mobilizes people towards specific idea of social inequality. Therefore, it is clear that according to the articles we can speculate there is some kind of effect and relationship, of the feeling of identity people can develop to music, the social mobilization and the influence of the Internet and new technologies.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section offered an outline of the investigation design that has been selected previously to the development of this research study. In this chapter I provided a discussion on the central elements of the project design and reviewed arguments that helped support and gave justification to the choices selected. I built a research design to attempt to analyze, in the most adequate way, the material data and provided an answer to the proposed research question. To begin with, I provided an overview of the general investigation design, and primarily talked about the research method and the reasons why I selected a qualitative analysis for this study. Then, I explained the technique that I used for the collection of the data and the description of the interview process. Following that I described the criteria through which the participants were chosen. Then I moved to the structure of the interview and the type of questions used in this process. Finally, I described the procedure of the thematic analysis to examine the data collected through the interviews.

3.2 Research design

The project aimed to research how music mobilized people and its importance in contemporary protests in Chile. Also, I want to find out the role of music in social cohesion and how it can be used to spread message and reach a broader audience to participate in social mobilization.

For this research topic a qualitative approach appeared to be the most accurate method to try to give an answer to the proposed research question, as the qualitative approach could develop a more complete data analysis for this type of study and provide a more detailed understanding of the outcomes of the investigation. Besides, the research plan was to deeply explore the participants emotions and feelings expressed before, during or after their participation that showed their enrolment in protest music. “Qualitative approaches argue that they allow us to make inferences based upon a collection of descriptive data and the analysis of that data, with a final resulting statement of generalization regarding individuals, environments, and/or institutions”. (Smith, K. P. P 92 1990). Qualitative research largely generates concepts and it is mainly an exploratory type of research. It is primarily used to gain a better understanding of opinions, feelings and motivations. Taking that into consideration, “qualitative research has advantages in terms of gaining access to information from hidden populations” (Maher & Dertadian, 2018. P 170). For example, qualitative research use focus groups and open-ended text questions to collect data. They can also serve to carry out broader studies and a deeper understanding of specific situations, as well as providing information about the issue or aid evolve notions or assumptions for future quantitative research. Likewise, qualitative data collection methods diverge working on techniques such as focal groups or observations. The sample size is usually small, and respondents are selected to meet a certain quota and criteria.

3.3 Sampling

For this research, an online snowball sampling or chain sampling method was used in order to seek a representative sample for this case. In qualitative research, snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling method used by investigators to recognize possible individuals in investigations where persons are hard to reach (Chaim Noy, 2008). This technique allows the

sample size to grow as the selected individuals invite their acquaintances to participate. Therefore, the snowball sampling works especially well when the distinctive feature of the population that the researcher wants to study as tends to group these individuals, to facilitate their social contact. The advantage of choosing this method relay on the capacity to reach hard to contact or access populations and give the possibility to collect valuable data in a short amount of time. In this specific case, this technique was the best way to target and acquire new participants.

To guarantee the validity of this investigation, safeguard the sample and in order to examine this phenomenon, the targeted participants must have the following characteristics:

- a) Gender: Female
- b) Location: Chile
- c) Members of a feminist collective
- d) History of participation in feminist protests in Chile

3.4 Interviews

Due of the 12,000 kilometers distance between the Netherlands and Chile, the personal emotions and stories that this topic touched upon, and the Covid-19 situation that limit movements and gathering, online one to one interview appeared to be the best option for this particular case. I consequently used qualitative interviews, more specifically, semi-structured interviews, and developed a topic list and I asked the same questions (available in the appendix B) to all the respondents to obtain relevant information and data. In addition, the principal motivation to choose this type of interview was that there was a possibility for variation and flexibility. It is useful that the interviewers alter or change the organization of the questions and ask some supplement questions to explore deeply into some of these themes or targeted subjects, to help clarify the responses given by the respondents (Brennen, 2017). It brought new perceptions for the investigation to get answers to the research question in the proposed study. The semi-structured interview helped me to explore respondents' feelings and motivation to get together to perform the song. Likewise, it can be interesting to find out about the participants personal emotions, the qualitative interview is the most appropriate method, as

in qualitative interviews there is an important value in knowing the participant's opinion or point of view (Bryman, 2016).

The interview was organized by a structure of block of questions following the topics below. First, there was a segment of personal introduction and history related to their participation in feminist protests and membership of feminist collectives, then another block of questions to explore their opinions and motivations to protest and perform the song "A rapist in your way". This order of questions helped clarifying the answers of the participants while narrowing the topic. The respondents were requested to describe and explain situations or experiences where they were interacting with the music performance "A rapist in your way" as a way of expression and social cohesion. I also questioned them about their decision to participate or to replicate this particular song and why. Furthermore, I asked which principal changes happened in their groups and in the protests since the song came out, in order to obtain material that can be useful to this research. During the interviews, different types of questionings were used, such as introduction, probing questions and follow up questions. Couple of probing questions applied to the interview are, for example:

- "Do you think there was more attendance in the mobilizations after the song went viral?"

This type of questions was used to obtain clear and specific material and gather the information needed to answer the proposed research question. Consequently, based on their responses I was able to analyze and organize the collected evidence provided by the participants.

The participants of this study were previously contacted by mail, phone, through social networks such as Instagram or Twitter. Therefore, there was a total of 19 interviews, 18 of them were conducted with feminist protesters and members of feminist movements and collectives in Chile. And one more and very important interview that was conducted with the collective Las Tesis, the creator of the song "A rapist in your way". It was critical to have them in my study as it allowed me to understand better their message, how they come up with the lyrics and whole performance but also if there were any changes after the song became a local and global viral phenomenon. Though it was far from easy to reach them and it took me more than 3 months before being able to talk to them. I contacted them several time through social media such as Instagram, Facebook or Twitter or mail but never received any answer. I finally was able to get in touch with them thanks to a potential participant to the interview that knew them personally and that sent them my contact. This fact alone shows the importance of the snowball sampling process. Though due to their busy schedule the interview of Las Tesis was done differently compared with the other women I interviewed. Indeed, I sent them the list of

questions through WhatsApp and two members of the collective sent me back the audio recording of their answers. The table of participants with their name or pseudonyms and background characteristics is available in the appendix C.

These interviews were indispensable to acquire valuable data and helped answer the proposed research question of this investigation. It was necessary to gather information that helped understanding the development and meanings of the song, explored the respondent's feelings towards the performance and what exactly drove them to perform at the mobilizations. The collected data helped me to find out how effective was the performance of "A rapist in your way" in the contemporary protest scene in Chile and at the same time, explored evidence that can bring many new insights for analyzing this phenomenon.

These interviews were conducted online through video chat with platforms such as Skype or Zoom, as the participants were located in Chile and not in the Netherlands. This might have caused some limitations to the interviews, but I ensured that the conversation stayed neutral and offered a protected situation for the participants. They all received a consent form prior the interview appointment (see appendix A), explaining all the characteristic of their participation in this research and also information about the interviewer, the institution and the treatment of their personal data and that the interview was recorded with their consent. As the song addressed a particular topic that could deeply affect the respondents or could even be related to their personal experience, it was important to make them comfortable and also giving them the right of anonymity. It also happened that during the interview some respondent started to feel overwhelmed by emotion. Moreover, the interviews were carried out in Spanish since it was the mother tongue of the study subjects and it contributed to have more detailed and precise answers for this research. It also allowed me to have the broadest scope of potential respondents. The interviews took between 20 to 60 minutes to examine the contestants' feelings and thoughts about the song performance. Noticeably, the interviews were done mostly in the evening or late at night due to the 6 hours difference between the Netherlands and Chile.

3.5 Data analysis

To examine and evaluate the data collected throughout the interviews, the first step was to transcribe and translating the seventeen interviews from Spanish into English, to organize the

evidence and have a clear perspective of the examination procedure. Evidently, the translation to English added another layer of work that required specific attention in order to keep the meaning of the respondent's answers or their emotions, not to mention the specific local Chilean slang sometimes used. Following that, for the thematic analysis, selective coding was conducted to organize themes into items and categories to be able to associate and relate diverse topics to identify significant ideas or concepts. As this type of technique "offers an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analyzing qualitative data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p77). This can be an accurate method as "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p79). The process of coding the interviews followed this technique as it offered flexibility for analyzing the evidence and to the interpretation of meaning. Coding is a fundamental aspect in qualitative research procedures, allowing analysis of data and material that help with the purpose of the investigation (Williams, 2019). This type of process can be the most accurate to answer the proposed research question as it works to assess the reality, experience and the influence or impact of a variety of speeches functioning inside the society. As the last stage of the analysis, the sections of the data associate with categories and themes will be chosen to appear in the "Results" chapter of this document, mostly to describe the data findings respecting to the established themes and equally provide a detailed overview and discussion of the outcomes of the investigation.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Below is a short description of how the validity and reliability are addressed in the research. All interviews were recorded and transcribed and translated after to safeguard the information collected.

The investigation strictly followed the sample criteria. The repetition of words and terms as well as their importance highlighted by the respondents allowed us to identify, interpret and precisely target the codes and themes of my research. Interviewing as many as 19 participants allowed me to remove side themes that would not have been relevant for the analysis and was decisive to isolate the patterns. Reconducting the study in order to compare the results could be a way to check its reliability. Though due to unique global and local pandemic situation and the ban of public gathering, results of a new study might be flawed.

3.7 Study context

It is important to clarify that this investigation was carried out in times of the Cov-19 pandemic and other options of qualitative method might not have been possible giving the local and global circumstances. This unique situation completely removed physical contact between people, eliminating other data collection options such as observation, focus groups, etc. Also, as public rallies were forbidden in most of the countries across the globe and specifically in Chile to contain the spread of the virus, it is obvious that it had a massive impact on the protest movement. This sudden stop could also have consequences on the way people experimented the music within this context but could also slow down the movement of “A rapist in your way”. We can also wonder about the impact of the absence of public gathering on the snowball sampling.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This investigation used a qualitative research method, in order to understand the significance of music for social cohesion in the protest panorama in Chile. In this chapter I will provide an overview of the outcomes and the findings that the interviews exposed and a detailed description of the themes that were created during the thematic analysis. The information gathered along the interview process is principally composed of the testimonies and statements of the participants of this study research and reflects their feelings, experiences, and emotions about the protest music panorama in Chile and the performance of the song created by Las Tesis collective “A rapist in your way”.

Through the thematic analysis I coded the existing information or data in a table by the most significant themes revealed in the interview process: Social mobilization, Music identity and Social media. Simultaneously, and based on the answers of the respondents I distributed and separate those themes into sub concepts such as: Collective Identity, visibility, emotional relief, participation, lyrics, choreography, rhythm, social media interaction and social media influence (see appendix D). Consequently, this chapter will be composed of two main sections, the first one will be ‘*the Power of Music and Other Factors*’ the second and last one ‘*Social*

Media Influence'. Additionally, with the gathered material I differentiate the respondents in groups, in terms of how important music was to them, based on the obtained outcomes and the association and patterns between the principal factors of music, that drives people to join collective efforts and to mobilize and protest in this particular case, specific elements that motivate the women to perform the song "A rapist in your path".

The power of music and other factors

First and foremost, the interviews and the study suggest that we can identify two groups in regard the importance of the role music had on their participation. There is a majority of interviewed for which music was a significant factor for their participation in the performance. Elements such as lyrics and choreography appear to be a very strong influence among the respondents. There is no doubt, that actions such as singing and dancing provide the necessary emotional load through music as involve coordination of physical movement and body interaction (McNeill, 1995). Through the interview with Las Tesis, they explained that they worked on the lyrics of the song on the basis of theories of several authors. The principal objective of the collective was to communicate a message through the lyrics of a song: "So, what we worked on is also a part of being able to sing parts of the thesis so that the same thesis is playing in your head". According to Danaher (2010) "interactions permit people to share grievances and express emotions through songs. Lyrics describe these grievances and provide solutions and tie people together" (p813). Communication is primarily conveyed through non-verbal languages: Screams, chants, jumps, music, violent movements, dances officiate signs through which people is available to transmit what they feel. In many ways, singing and dancing offer a better experience of the music for the listener.

In the interview with the feminist collective of Las Tesis, they expressed and described the meaning of characteristics dance moves of their performance. They explain that the theme of the dance was inspired by Jane Fonda's video choreography, that was a way of showing the idea of a perfect body, the famous aerobics type of the 80's that shape a certain type of woman. Moreover, this finding fits De Nora (2000) Theory of the power of music, as it coexists with very influential elements as dancing and singing.

The action of dancing is a powerful activity that allows people to express and communicate ideas and feelings through the body. The work of recovering the dignity of the body specially in victims of any kind of violence relays precisely in the act of expression and communication. One of the most characteristic movements of this performance the squats, goes

along with the lyrics of the song where they try to make visible complaint of violence and gender issues such as femicide, impunity, disappearance and rape. According to Las Tesis:

“The part of the squat when we bend down, that movement was born because the police here when they arrested women and dissidents also in the jails, they made them undress and do squats. So, it's also a reference to these methods as humiliating, also of detention and violence”.

Here we can observe how useful is using lyrics and dancing as pedagogic tool to teach people a certain knowledge offering a language (dance) that people like and have in their daily life. Camila one of the participants of the interviews said, “each movement is like a symbol, and that symbol of the meaning in the lyrics, also as women always have their eyes covered is also a way of protesting with their own body”. The dance stimulates the mixture of ages and physical abilities and is easier to spread among the elderly and sick people and also tends to maximize participation. This can help explain to some extent the massive participation of women of all ages in the song performance of “A rapist in your path” all across Chile and the international effects that had.

Among the respondents of this research, the rhythm was the less influential element of the song. According to Las Tesis, “The rhythm of the song was born from studying a structure of the pop music through the times, the four beats. From there, it was settled”. This is a curious finding as rhythm is an essential component of a song because it creates its own forms of communication without language. Is particularly important because enables coordination in social situations and favors group cohesion. Especially, in this case where the song has been adopted for so many countries and in so many languages.

Another important thing to mention is that although the rhythm is not the most relevant and recognized factor of this song among the participants. This element, along with the dance and the singing produces a feeling or a state of flow in the performers. We can define flow as the experiences through a person is entirely are fully submerged in the moment (Nakamura & Csíkszentmihályi, 2014). This matter, as for individuals experimenting this state of flow, is easy to connect and easier for them to perceive opportunities and abilities in specific experiences since these “flow activities” demand strong concentration. This can be seen not only in the performance of Las Tesis, but also, long back in history with the spiritual’s chants sung by the enslaved African American in the United States. Where the rhythm has a clear and characteristic flow that engage the slaves in the cotton collecting and it becomes a way to endure those times.

In other hand, the affective connections that many respondents developed during the performance, thanks to sharing and expressing their feelings through the act of singing and dancing this song, worked as an incentive to reunite a community. A big part of affective connections or emotions have an important role into protest and social mobilizations.

According to Jasper, Feelings clarify the reasons why some people bond during protest actions or clusters, coming from “emotional responses” (Jasper, 1998). These feelings or beliefs can also be experimented towards institutions in order to engage with the mobilization. The principal thing in this case, is that through this song in particular, through music the individuals can gather together and shared feelings in common as these emotions find expression in common acts such as the performance of “A rapist in your path”. For example, some theories maintain that the agglomeration itself acts as an exceptionally powerful excitant. In these circumstances, individuals get together and their approach generates an electricity that leads them to high levels of exaltation in which uncontrollable passions are unleashed (Durkheim. 1993).

Tajonina, one of the participants of the interviews said that she was very excited while doing this performance: “some kind of liberation and a desire to scream, to liberate yourself, to get out”. This type of social events in which individuals are reunited, and where there is a high level of intensity of the collective will generate what Durkheim called “Collective Effervescence”. It appears clear that the music, lyrics and performance, the dress code, the choreography, the place of demonstration, made a strong impact in the feelings of the participants and in the therapeutic function of music in order to make people create a sense of union.

Music and feelings can bring people together, these two characteristics have a great capacity to constitutes identities, especially in the case of protest and social movements as this can build networks to channel and express emotions. Ximena, one of the respondents of the interviews said: “Music allows being a vehicle for channeling emotions”. Carola another participant expressed during the interviews: “I felt very happy, I felt free, I felt light, I felt liberated”. This shows that some of the participants find this song as a catalyst for emotions and past events and performing it as a cathartic experience. But as well, other respondents said they experienced a sense of union through this song, as they can put themselves in the place of the other person. According to Renata one of the participants of the interview process:

“Listening to those songs generates empathy - With the rapist it is you.

With Las Tesis too. To listen to the empathy that it generates I do not

find that music itself is art and it is a way of expression and obviously it will generate social cohesion”.

During the interview, she keeps describing the experience of her performance and while she was about to sing the song of Las Tesis, she was holding hands with other two girls that had suffered some kind of abuse in the past and were crying as they walked along with her. She adds: “Seen that, even if that had not happened personally, obviously generate empathy. So, having danced and sang that song was like a representation of saying I support you, I do believe you”. Naturally the human being has a natural tendency to sympathize with others and this is idea of feeling empathy is a curious fact; Tajima (2007) make a relation of this and the theory of moral sentiments where he explains that if an individual see another person suffer, immediately will have a reaction. Instead if someone tells something imaginative and people have to make a greater rational effort to put themselves in the other person's place. The song “A rapist in your path” is a song that clearly appeals to the emotions and functions as immediate motivation to bring people together and do the performance. This matter, as we can assume that songs or performances that appeals to emotions and that generate a higher feeling of empathy will generate higher levels of social cohesion between people or a specific community.

The outcomes suggest that there is a considerable but not highly influential number of participants of the interviews for which other factors rather than music were significant for their participation in the performance. Respondents were highly motivated by their identity background to gather together and perform the song “A rapist in your path”. According to Francesca Polletta and James Jasper, the notion of identity is a mode to clarify how interests arose in a social collective instead of taking them for granted (Polletta and Jasper. 2001). For example, Javiera one of the respondents that talked about her motivations to perform this song, she said: “The fact of wanting to feel that, that feeling, as adrenaline, to feel it, as being one, as being all together singing the song all at the same time, to feel what it felt doing it”. Another respondent, Camila said this:

“The song also worked as an image of feminism in Chile, but also as an identity. In other words, I think that most of the women who could replicate this song at some point, either dancing it or listening to it, realized a certain identity of feminism”.

Here we can clearly notice that the sense of perceive themselves a part of something, of a community, specifically the feminist community has an influence on the respondents to perform this song and mobilize. In the light of the theories of Polletta and Jasper, collective

identity is defined as a person's reasoning, moral, and emotional relationship with a wider community, cluster, tradition, or institution (Polletta and Jasper 2001). However, if the demand of a communal action is important, the individuals are more expected to participate even if the feeling of collective identity is not sufficient. For example, Elisa, another participant answered,

“I do think that women who are not in feminist networks and who are not so connected to the movement, yes, yes, they kind of felt identified and started to participate, for example in the feminist marches, even though they are not in feminist groups”.

This seems to show that participants were also driven by something else beyond the feeling of belonging to a specific community. Probably because considering themselves feminist is more like an identifier than a collective identity, meaning that this is a way of identifying themselves as individuals who think in a particular way. This matter because is a way to get together and promote debate, to have a common purpose and of course to feel they are a part of something that is bigger than them. That along to this group or this collective and feeling they are moving in the right direction to generate a collective capacity and feel that their rights as individuals are protected.

This idea of collective purpose “I’m feminist therefore the feminist community should perform the song” is a very curious finding as during the interviews only 7 participants out of 19 admitted that they were actively involved in a feminist collective or involve to any feminist movement in particular, but that they did perform the song “A rapist in your path” and participated of feminist mobilizations. This may show that some of them are culturally dependent as their link their personal identities with their social role. As their more likely to define them self-according to their collective roles or groups membership. For example, Susana one participant of the interviews who admitted that she did not belong to any kind of feminist group but did participate of the performance, she said: “A relatively united speech excites me a lot, and I feel super protected especially in public spaces”.

It is important to highlight that the individuals decide to take part on this performance since it represents their personality and who they are, this is also influenced by the ways of protests they selected. According to (Benford & Snow, 2000) one other reason that can explain the fact that some of the respondents performed the song despite not being affiliated into any social movements, could be attributed to the contextual factors of Chile, as the political opportunities with the social outbreak of the country where present. And this also has the ability to create a sense of collective identity in terms of feeling of success instead of failure for the collective.

From other perspectives Danaher (2010) said, “Music in the form of song is important in developing a shared identity because singing can bring people together” (P812). For example, in the case of the of the song “A rapist in your path” we can observe that a specific part of the lyrics of the song:

*And the fault was not mine
Nor where I was, nor what I wore. (x4)*

Repeating this verse, a several number of times can help the message of the song be adopt among the participants and in this way create a sort kind of sense of collective identity. During the interview with the Chilean feminist collective Las Tesis the original creators of the song “A rapist in your path”, they expressed:

“The music as to an instrument, in our case the bit that sounds in the background, at least I could interpret it and I see it as a pulse, as a collective pulse that unifies all the groups of women who are doing the performance. They keep a rhythm, a permanence too, and together with the lyrics, which is the message of what is meant, it is much more powerful”.

This clearly shows that music works as an instrument and as an incentive for creating collective or group identity among people, therefore, to stick people together and produce social cohesion. thus, music as an element is fundamental at the time of analyzing social mobilizations and social movements.

Another important thing to add to this analysis, is that people also derive self-esteem not only individually but from group identities too and that can be another reason that influence the participation in the performance of the song “A rapist in your path”. Cecilia one of the participants said: “the women helped each other to dress and put on makeup for the performance, it was an impressive sorority”. Some of the participants of these interviews agreed that the masks and the clothing was something that high light this particular performance, the fact of having to dress in a certain form and put make up on to perform the song help the women not only to have a sense of sorority among them but also to feel better and united about themselves.

Maria de Jesus, one respondent of the interviews expressed: “women found a language in the masks that was super important because it was restructured it was reconfigured to give a different meaning to the masks”. This shows that the mask itself also become a symbol

of their unity therefore their concerns. Also, that the esthetics of the feminist protest change in some way thanks to this performance. In the context of political demonstrations, the streets are transformed into a stage where their participants expose themselves to the gaze of another and acquire the role of actors who seek to influence the audience or the other participants (Martinez, 2019). As a couple of participants said, before doing the presentation of the song they not only practice the choreography or the lyrics, but they did masks workshop. Thus, dressing up and doing their own mask also became an important part of the ritual to sing “A rapist in your path”.

It appears clear that the music, lyrics and performance, the dress code, the choreography, the place of demonstration, made a powerful visible combination (DeNora, 2000). As Javiera said “to make visible the gender issue and above all to show the gender abuse in general and the feminism”. The main definition of visibility is the fact of being visible, of being seen or perceptible by the sight. The performance is also its own a nod to visibility and is full of symbolism. As nuanced by Andrea Brighenti, it could be common sense that “the rule is that if I can see you, you can see me” (Brighenti, 2007, p.326). But it is not that elementary, and as being said during the performance of the song in a part where the women point out political actors and institutions:

Are the cops, the judges, the state, the president.

Through history and among many social movements and organizations, such as the feminist collective, there is an absence of the institutional infrastructures that are not available of protect their rights and make their issues visible. In the lack of this institutions, women that perform this song tends to look for representation in different structures like religion or in this particular case music, as it works as a social glue that unite people towards the visibility of their concerns.

Elisa one of the participants said about the song of Las Tesis: “For me it is now a hymn that represents many of the inequalities for which we are fighting daily also with us and visualizes is a constant struggle”. This statement intends to show how the song of Las Tesis portray social and gender concerns associated to violence against women and try to gain visibility in order to claim political rights and social justice. This is important as music can be used as a vehicle to provide visibility and solutions to the neglects of institutional power, music often function as a strong component within social movements looking for a social change within the society.

For the authors of the song the collective of Las Tesis, the music combined with the choreography was an influential factor that made their project reached such as massive

audience “we can translate a message audio visually complex but in such a way that it reaches the audience”. Also, during the interview Las Tesis state that “the blindfold also has to do with what you see and what you do not see”. And “*the fault was mine*” under the idea that symbolic violence is that, which you do not see, but when you are already at it, then there is violence and, in a way, or another have been uncovered and accepted for power structures. For example, in a part of the lyrics of the song:

And our punishment
*Is the violence **you don't see***
And our punishment
*Is the violence that now **you can see***

What they are showing with this verse of the song, is another type of violence different than the physical type. This can be define according to Hancock (2008) as a form of Symbolic violence, as a type of violence which cannot be seen as a form of aggression, that is still difficult to distinguish and perceive, because it is immersed in everyday life and, through its messages, naturalizes unnatural situations, such as violence or lack of respect for women. As this type of violence cannot be seen, becomes necessary for this community to gather in regard a target or a collective aspiration. In this case, to reach for visibility of gender issues through music as this is the only way for them to stick together and compensate the lack of presence of the local authorities like the judges and the police and the national government too as the state or the president. In addition, is important to add that the performances have been done in front of powerful state government facilities, with the objective of being seen by who the song accuses of not seeing, the cops, the judges, the system, the president.

We also learn that feminist have always been present on the social movement scene in Chile, but according to Macarena the performance of “A rapist in your path” successfully managed to “spread the message with more force and love” and to bring together women of all ages and of all social backgrounds. In regards of the “A rapist in your path” mobilization, there is no denying that social media combined with a fast virality of the message among women, whether part member of collective or not, had a tremendous role in coordinating the actions in the public sphere as we will see in the Social Media part.

Concerning participation, two third of the respondents agree on the fact that the song led to more participation of women in feminist protests. According to Camila “prior to the song there had been a paralysis in terms of feminist manifestations, but after it appeared as the

performance of the theses, everyone wanted to do it”, for Carolina, “there was an explosion of feminism as a result of this song”. This led to a massive participation as Las Tesis showed that in Santiago, “on the 29th, around 10000 women gathered outside the stadium”, the stadium of Santiago being a strong symbol as it was a detention center after Pinochet’s coup d’état in 1973. Obviously, more participation in feminist protests was due to an increasing number of new members and the song appears to be a decisive turning point in mobilizing them, as Tajonina said “when this song appeared, this movement I felt fully touched and being called to participate”.

It appears that the instigation of Las Tesis, with their song and their various messages, to protest peacefully and aesthetically led to a wide inclusion and diversity of participants they recognize themselves in it, “there were women of every ages, big, small, old, blind, with crutches, in wheelchairs” pointed out Carolina, for Susana for example as she said “what impressed me was that I saw many women that I hadn't seen before in marches”. More specifically, what strikes the respondents is the great presence of elder women meaning one of the success of the participation has been to close the generation gap, as mentioned by a few respondents including Macarena “there was a lot of female of different ages participating, senior and grandmother, something that was not seen before”, Maria de Jesus “to think that they have been mobilized to reach that place and was very exciting” or Susana “an intergenerational dialogue”. It appears evident that music can unify around a common cause and towards a shared goal diverse groups by going beyond their inherent differences (Polleta, Jasper, 1999) as we see with the generation gap being closed.

As mentioned by Street, Hague and Savigny (2008), the importance of political actions in the public sphere, has being is an equal combination of speech and physical expressions, which is exactly what is made of the performance of “A rapist in your path” as we will see later. Street, Hague and Savigny (2008) admits that music can create and foment public and political participation, nevertheless, to do so it requires a combination of three factors: “organization”, “legitimation” and “performance”. The political action of “A rapist in your path” took the form of several stand-up performances and protests first across Chile then globally. While dates and places of protests where the main information available, the coordination of the mobilization became the responsibility of each of the participants using the already well adopted and used social networks and messaging platforms. Regarding legitimation, how does the collective Las Tesis gain their power or their authority to have political credibility among the feminist community and to be considered as the messengers of the feminist cause through this song all around the world? The reading of the Street, Hague and

Savigny suggests that this kind of legitimization process does not happen because of the popularity of the performers (Las Tesis) or the music song itself.

This process is a media construction of the use of the song and the message as a reliable truth. On this particular subject of legitimation, Las Tesis mention “we have been called to other places to help with protests”, they have been invited at the Women’s March in January to lead a performance of “A rapist in your path” in front of the White House, also to the pro-abortion march in Buenos Aires or to the International Women’s Day march on March 8th in Berlin. Regarding the performance, there is no doubt about its political significance and intention in women to participate all around the world.

Las Tesis’ song managed to speak to, deeply touch, and represent a large spectrum of the women community, which led to an increasing visibility of the gender issue not only in the country but also across the world. The music grew in a virtuous circle, from a limited real-life presence, to a soaring visibility online through social media to motivate thousands of women to take to the streets which obviously quickly created a global effect.

According to Carolina, “this is visible worldwide and that this movement crossed borders because women are living the same”. There is no denying that the music became exponentially visible locally and globally over the end of 2019. This global visibility has been the result of what Thompson calls the “mediated visibility” (Thompson, 1995), supported by the worldwide adoption of social media to share images and videos, people do not need to be present at the exact moment and place events happen, events are not set in time and space anymore and can either benefit from a global stage to be visible or to remain in the obscurity. For “A Rapist Is path”, it was the former that happen.

‘Social Media Influence’

The findings indicate that both factors were very definitive for the song performance to reach more people in a short amount of time. Among the participants, the social media was also a very influential tool at the time to get together and coordinate actions and clothing for the performance of the song. As we can observe that out of the 16 respondents, 13 discovered the performance of Las Tesis through social media, mostly on Facebook (5) and on Instagram (5), two of them discovered it directly in real life while only one first heard about it on television. For example, Macarena one of the respondents said about it:

“On Facebook, I remember there was a lot of sharing. At first I was a bit hesitant because social networks are super invasive and because of

the algorithm you kind of feel like you're only getting information about what you are interested in, but then I realized that it was everywhere because my mom told me about it, my grandmother took out the news. So, it really broke all the barriers of communication in that sense..."

First and foremost, what it shows is the importance of these "new" media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp), on the role of discovery of the song, the virality on the feminist movement and the causes that matter for the respondents. We can also notice the strong adoption rate of these platforms by the respondents, regardless of their age or socio-economic background. Most of them who heard about this movement through social media, did so because they have groups or acquaintances with whom they share common values and interests, such as the feminist cause.

Among the respondents it is clear that even if less than a majority of them were already members of a feminist collective, online groups quickly started to emerge in which they participated in. While some respondents preferred to keep their group limited, some highlight the massive participation and activity of the community on these platforms. For example, Pia mentioned being part of "three WhatsApp groups, of 800 women each", Carola another participant talked about having to create groups over and over because they kept on reaching the WhatsApp group limit of about 250 persons. The latter also noticed that among these women, "many of them were very lonely", showing that groups became more than that, they became a community of people sharing and channeling through this song the same interests, passion, values and sometimes traumas. It helped them to not "stagnate at their desk or their couch" and join this cathartic movement.

In addition it is fair to mention that for the participants, the social media was also a channel or a vehicle to help give visibility to issues that this particular song was addressing. Through the interviews it can be observed that this social and online movement raised the awareness and awakened the mind on the underlying culture of violence, especially towards women, that has been intrinsic to the Chilean society for decades.

It is fair to wonder if social networks, by creating an apparent feeling of instant community, where getting to share the song with thousands of people appears easier, more spontaneous and safer on top of a mass group effect, were the main reasons in this wave of pointing out the patriarchy culture and liberating the speech of people suffering. This is also how the Internet was originally imagined, as a freedom space. In the book *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, Manuel Castells mentions that the Internet

has become a space from simply being social to share more meaningful emotions, their indignation to their aspiration (Castells, 2015).

It is clear among the respondents that it is thanks to the Internet, and more precisely the “Social Web” (Rheingold, 1993) that the song quickly grew locally and global. Obviously benefiting from the liberation of speech led by the #MeToo movement that erupted in 2017, the phenomenon of the song “A rapist in your path” became viral on social media in a matter of hours after the diffusion of the 25th of November performance.

This rapid sharing and circulation of the video and information related to Las Tesis among these close groups is what might have led to its quick virality and its national and global spread. Another interesting point to consider is that the foreigner mainstream media such as TV, radio or newspaper, only started to communicate about the phenomenon after it started to massively circulate, and that demonstration were already happening. While the movement of the song became stronger locally and on a global scale, it also had an impact on the online profile of Las Tesis. As during the interviews, they answered that their number of followers “increased very much. A lot”, we can indeed observe that the end of November 2019 marked a tilting point in their online influence. Present since October 2018 on Instagram, during their first year, their post usually generated between 100 and 200 likes with their call for artistic intervention generating about 100 likes, starting in November 2019, their social influence skyrocketed with posts getting up to 30,000 likes and their video of the intervention in Santiago on the 25th of November about to reach half a million views. As of the 20th of May 2020, their number of followers is almost 280,000 with a good engagement rate from their community of about 3.8% (based on the number of likes and comments on the static publications of 2020).

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the global adoption of this song and local language adaptations with interventions across the world such as in France, Australia, India, or Turkey led to a leaderless movement, thriving and expanding thanks to its several independent communities. The massive growth of online communities, their accessibility, the direct, flexible and quick communication can define this song movement as a networked social movement, decentralized and composed of several smaller or bigger nodes (Juris, 2004). It has been noticed that the main activity on the Web has been dedicated to the social networks, introducing a culture of sharing and of user-generated content (Castells, 2015). This leads us to think that social networks were a key factor in bringing people together through this song, and even more to reimagine music mission in society in the time of social distancing.

5. CONCLUSION

In relation with the research question: How does music mobilize people into contemporary protests scene in Chile, it can be concluded that music has an important role in bringing people together in the protest panorama of this country. This research was carried out with a qualitative method and through a detailed thematic analysis, that established a link with multiple aspects of how music can definitely be a factor of social cohesion for groups and communities. Consequently, this investigation has led to significant outcomes.

First, elements such as lyrics, choreography and clothing enhance music to have a huge impact in generating public engagement in social mobilizations. Second, the sentiment of collective identity through music has big effects on the motivations to enroll and participate in protest and manifestations. Third, the political opportunities present in the context mark an important influence in protest music and the way individuals engage with it. Fourth, the social media aids the messages and the song to reaches a broader audience.

The influence that this type of song has managed to have on different aspects of individuals life, is derived within the mobility generated by the context in which they live and in the face of the spread of new technologies, such as the use of the internet and the infinite social media platforms. These have made it an indispensable alternative mean of communication for any society. Musical lyrics and physical movements, in this particular context of “A rapist in your path” play the role of transmit messages by a singer to the public, they are develop and spread, but above all, they are consumed in a context in which the artist no longer need a contract or a major record label, the arrival of new technologies can generate and disseminate new content through digital media, which also allow individuals to experience with other musical genres, such as protest music, and making them increasingly versatile and wider to the musical proposals of our days.

Finally, we can say that protest music, being a language endowed with signs and symbols allow their recipients access to certain types of structured messages, generating and creating points of common agreement, solid communication and identity ties.

5.1 Limitations

One of the main limitations of this thesis came from the effect that covid-19 had on this recent wave of feminist demonstrations and its consequence on the protest scene in Chile and worldwide. While these manifestations were gaining a strong popularity locally and all over the world as it has been shown within the context International Women's Day mobilization, the question remains on the consequences of the pandemic and the quarantine. Another important limitation was the fact that the gathering of information was done by virtual means and that somehow could have affected the results of this investigation. Also, this particular movement came along with the Chilean social outbreak and it was hard to isolate the "A rapist in your path" effects alone on the protest scene. The study could benefit from interviewing new participants and feminist members in a future time.

5.2 Further Research

This research inspects the music of the protest panorama in Chile. As clarified before, this type of song is an urban physical performance that gather individuals in order to mobilize them towards a shared social cause. In the present context of covid-19, where physical mobilizations have been prohibited all around the world. Further research will be essential, to aim understand how a social movement can stay strong through music and keep their influence and people involved. This is can be a significant investigation, that help comprehend if physical protest is necessary to gain traction, specifically when there is a such effective song like "A rapist in your path".

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APPENDIX SECTION

Figure 1.



AFP, 2019. *Destroyed Metro Station in Santiago After the Protests*. [image] Available at: https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/10/19/actualidad/1571506476_320721.html [Accessed 24 June 2020].

Figure 2.



AFP. (2018). *Manifestación a favor del aborto en Santiago de Chile el 26 de julio.* [Image]. Retrieved 24 June 2020, from <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2018/07/27/indignacion-por-apunalamiento-de-tres-mujeres-en-una-marcha-feminista-en-santiago-de-chile/>

Figure 3.



Screenshot from the Instagram of Las Tesis (<https://www.instagram.com/lastesis/>).

Figure 4.



Screenshot from the Twitter of Las Tesis – performance of the song.

Figure 5.



Screenshot from Twitter of a user sharing her experience with the context of Las Tesis

Figure 6.



Y la culpa no era mia...

Screenshot of meme from Twitter

Figure 7.



Screenshot of a remix of "A rapist in your way" available on Spotify

Figure 8.



Screenshot from Twitter user and US Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez sharing an article from The Guardian on their worldwide coverage of the song's performance

APPENDIX A

CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH

FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:

Daniela Paternina Vitola

Blommersdijkeslaan 27 A

dannpavit21@gmail.com

+31 6 27146825

DESCRIPTION

You are invited to participate in a research about protest music. The purpose of the study is to understand to what extent music can be a factor of social cohesion between people.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. In general terms,

- the questions of the interview will be related to music protest and your participation in the song performance.
- your participation in the experiment will be related to gather information about music and social cohesion.
- my observations will focus on your answers about your motivations and participation in the song performance.

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use a tape recorder for the interview.

You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. Yet, you are free to decide whether I should use your name or other identifying information such as age, job or other personal details in the study. If you prefer, I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by measures that will be taken pseudonym, general identification only mentioning age and gender, etc.

I will use the material from the interviews and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications.

TIME INVOLVEMENT

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONARY

- 1- How did you get involved in feminist protest?
- 2- Are you an active member or a feminist collective?
- 3- How do you know the song "A rapist in your path"?
- 4- What is the reason why you performed this song in a manifestation?
- 5- Do you think social media influenced the spread of the song?
- 6- Do you think that music can be a way of social cohesion?
- 7- Where does the song come from? And what does it mean?
- 8- What does the choreography mean?
- 9- How does the rhythm of the song arise?
- 10- Does the group grow stronger after the song went viral?
- 11- How many were the members of your collective before and after the song's fame?
- 12- How did you call people to protest before and after the song went viral?
- 13- Do you think there was more assistance of people in the mobilizations after the song went viral?
- 14- After the song's fame, the collective changed the way of protesting.
- 15- Did the number of followers in your social networks increase thanks to this song?
- 16- Did you already have some problem with the police or other people for performing this song?
- 17- Tell me a bit more about your experience performing the song "A rapist in your path".
- 18- Do you know groups or people from another part of Chile who have performed your song?

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANTS TABLE INTERVIEW

Name	Age	Profession	Length
Las Tesis collective	-	-	33:35
Camila	24	Social Worker	27:10
Carola	50	Journalist	38:00
Carolina	39	Housewife	23:00
Carolina	34	Journalist	33:26
Cecilia	56	Chef	29:45
Elisa	29	Audiovisual producer	42:22
Javiera	28	Psychologist	21:41
Katalina	28	Graphic Designer	44:00
Macarena	27	Psychologist	27:14
Maria de Jesus	37	Social Worker	35:14
Nicole	-	History Teacher	26:12
Paula	30	Social Worker	24:57
Pia	28	Speech therapist	34:21
Renata	24	Student	39:05
Romina	30	Social Worker	23:38
Susana	28	Anthropologist student	32:53
Tajonina	51	Social Worker	35:15
Ximena	38	Psychologist	31:50

APPENDIX D

CODING TABLE

CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS	SUBCATEGORIES
Music Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lyrics• Choreography• Rhythm
Social Mobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Collective identity• Emotional relief• Participation
Social Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interaction• Visibility• Influence